

PEACE NEWS

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OBJECTOR TELLS TRIBUNAL

Call-up is breach of international law

NATIONAL SERVICE DEFIES CONVENTION ON GENOCIDE

PEACE NEWS CORRESPONDENT

AN entirely new basis for conscientious objection was put forward at the London Appellate Tribunal on February 7 during Kenneth Roy Hathaway's appeal against the dismissal of his application for unconditional exemption from military service.

Michael Howard, representing the appellant, quoted extensively from the United Nations Convention on Genocide, which, having been ratified by the governments of forty-seven countries, has now become international law.

In Article I of the Convention, he said, genocide, whether in peace or war, is condemned as a crime. Article II defines genocide as the killing of groups of people.

The preamble to the Convention states that the perpetrators of any of the acts defined in Article II shall be punished. Since all modern war is genocide, the appellant had no alternative but to claim unconditional exemption from military service, as even the imposition of conditions would be the equivalent of punishment for obedience to international law.

The Tribunal did not appear to have heard of the UN Convention on Genocide. The Chairman, Sir Michael McDonnell, asked the appellant's representative to pass him a copy.

"A friend to all"

After perusing it for some minutes, Sir Michael said:

"If you are correct as to the effect of the Convention on Genocide, then anybody taking part in the armed forces is condemned, and all present National Service men are liable to penalties."

Michael Howard: "Yes, sir, exactly!" Kenneth Hathaway, who is an architect, aged 25, married with one child, could probably have gained conditional exemption on humanitarian grounds. He had been actively engaged for a number of years in the Boy Scout movement, where he had been taught that a Scout is a friend to all, no matter of what class, country or creed.

However, he laid stress on the Convention in the hope of getting it accepted as a valid ground for conscientious objection.

In this it seems he was unsuccessful, and as for the appeal, it is well known that, although the National Service Acts make provision for the granting of unconditional exemption, Sir Michael McDonnell does not. The appeal was therefore dismissed, but this decision was reserved and announced later in the day, after the appellant and other interested members of the public had left.

US feared peace offer from China

FORMOSA CRISIS WAS "DELIBERATELY INDUCED"

ON January 21 the Chinese Government announced that it was inviting the families of the imprisoned US airmen to visit these men in China.

On the same day Congressional leaders in the US were summoned to the White House to be briefed by Admiral Radford and Mr. Dulles on a course of action that seemed to indicate a readiness to contemplate a preventive war.

According to Mr. I. F. Stone, writing in his weekly newsletter for February 14, the present acute situation arising over Formosa has been deliberately induced because the State Department feared that the US airmen might be released.

The invitation to the families of the imprisoned men was an outcome of Mr. Hammerskjold's round of consultations in Peking.

"United Nations sources," the Christian Science Monitor correspondent at the UN wrote on January 21, "said Mr. Chou made the offer in response to Mr. Hammerskjold's expressions of concern for the well-being of the imprisoned men" and "One experienced diplomat in close touch with the Hammerskjold mission said he could not conceive of Mr. Chou's making the move if he expected to keep the men in jail indefinitely."

On the following day the Christian Science Monitor returned to the subject and said that

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LAMBETH DANCES ITS WAY TO RACIAL UNITY

Organised by a Committee of Lambeth Counsellors and local Jamaican immigrants, an inter-racial dance was held in Lambeth Town Hall last Friday. Equal numbers of Londoners and Jamaicans were invited.

Photo: Michael Peto.

Peter Abrahams on the CHALLENGE OF THE COLOUR BAR

By OLWEN BATTERSBY

BRITAIN is responsible for conditions in the West Indies, Peter Abrahams, South African author and journalist, told a crowded multi-racial audience in London last week.

"These islands are governed from Britain and the final say in all island matters lies with the Colonial Office." Britain cannot escape that responsibility.

He was speaking on "Coloured People in Britain: A Problem and a Challenge" at a meeting organised jointly by the All Nations Social Club and Racial Unity.

For the first time a sizable number of coloured people—between eight and ten thousand Jamaicans—had come to this country, not as students or artists seeking to develop their talents, but as workers in economic competition with the workers of this country, seeking jobs, needing to be housed, hoping to be accepted in the social life of this country.

"Our vaunted liberalism"

It was true, he admitted, that we had already an acute housing problem. But after the last war the government had recognised Britain's responsibility in regard to the Poles, and had "done things"; so now it must tackle those difficulties caused by the sudden influx of West Indians on her doorstep.

"We in this country have always been proud to say that we had no colour bar. We abhor the very thought of it... Now we have a coloured problem in our own midst. Is our vaunted liberalism, our vaunted freedom from prejudice going to be translated in terms of action. Are we going to give to our coloured brethren the

□ ON BACK PAGE

Dr. SOPER challenges Labour Party "Win election on this policy"

BRITAIN MUST DISARM Trust in pacts, battleships, air bases, is lunacy

DR. DONALD SOPER has called to the Labour Party to go into the next General Election with a policy of disarmament for Britain.

Reviewing the international situation in Tribune last week, he declares:

"We are all living in a lunatic asylum. Some nation must find the courage to break out of that asylum, even if the others think it mad to take the risk."

"It is the only way to sanity for that nation, and for its fellow inmates."

"Rally the Labour Party with a call to this country to lead the world in a gesture of wholesale disarmament," Dr. Soper, a Labour Party member, declares, "and we could win the forthcoming election hands down, and break out into God's world of peace once and for all."

In the opening paragraphs of his article he writes:

"I find myself almost exhilarated, despite the profound seriousness of the Formosa issue, with a hope greater than I have felt for the last 30 years that mankind may yet prevent a third world war and begin to build peace..."

"All the apparatus of defence pacts, collective securities, with the battleships, and air bases, and rearmaments that go with them, do nothing more than promote other problems while completely failing to solve the problems for which they were created."

"The argument once championed with some show of reason, that strength is a deterrent to the aggressor and collective strength the best of all deterrents, is childish babbling when America and the Western Powers confront

China and the Communist bloc.

"The ever-widening acceptance of these facts, hopeful as it is, is only the beginning of wisdom. We must face the inexorable consequences of them. To insist upon them, and then in the next breath to insist on building up our atomic strength until everyone agrees to disarmament is just criminal lunacy."

Foster a policy of neutrality—p. 3

HOW TO GET CHINA SEATED AT UN

Credentials Committee should refuse to recognise Chiang

BRITAIN must not go hand in hand with Chiang Kai-shek into war with China, Victor Yates, MP, told a meeting which filled the Kings Weigh House Hall, London last week.

He was one of the panel at an "Any Questions" session organised by the Standing Joint Pacifist Committee. Others on the panel were Vera Brittain, Canon Scrutton, Stuart Morris, Clifford MacQuire and Bernard Withers. Question Master was Sybil Morrison.

Answering the question "How do you propose to bar Chiang Kai-shek from China's seat at UN?" Stuart Morris said the right step would be to secure that the Credentials Committee at the United Nations refused to recognise the Nationalists.

Vera Brittain said that if Formosa was neutralised Chiang would automatically be unseated.

Clifford MacQuire: The positive action of seating the Communist Government would unseat Chiang.

Victor Yates, one of the six MPs from whom the Labour Party Whip was withdrawn after they had voted against German rearmament, was warmly applauded as he answered the question "Which should come first: loyalty to conscience or loyalty to Party?"

"If one signs to support and obey decisions of a Party, that is an undertaking one must not lightly dismiss. He had felt German rearmament was an issue on which he must leave the Party. 'I thought I should be expelled,' he said. 'I'm still a member. The axe did not fall as heavily as I expected.'"

Stuart Morris—p. 4

... AND AN MP SAYS: Send Soper to Parliament

Asked by Peace News to comment on Dr. Soper's challenge to the Labour Party, Emrys Hughes writes:

CERTAINLY the Labour Party would rally a big volume of public opinion behind it if it came out with a call for wholesale disarmament.

In view of the warnings of Mr. Attlee, Lord Russell, General MacArthur, Liddell Hart and many others, continuing to spend £1,500,000,000 a year on obsolete defence is fantastically absurd from whatever point of view one looks at it.

Of course, the Labour Front Bench is timid, remembering its own past in approving the rearmament programme and the atom bomb. But events are pushing it quickly, and it is up to the rank and file to bring the utmost pressure to make the leadership realise that it wants a different line of policy.

In the Capital Punishment Debate, Mr. Chuter Ede made the point that we must lead public opinion, not follow what the Tory press says it is.

There are no votes to be gained by the Labour Party by standing for German rearmament and huge armaments. They will go Tory.

My vote did not go down in South Ayrshire at the last election. It went up. If the Labour Party were to fight the next election in the way we fought in South Ayrshire at the last it could win.

P.S.—Why doesn't some intelligent Divisional Labour Party get Donald Soper to stand for Parliament? We don't meet on Sundays and the House of Commons is a better platform than Hyde Park or Tower Hill.

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Each shall love himself in his brother, and deem himself happy in serving him; and all families shall be but one family, and all nations but one nation.

—LAMMENNAIS.

MISSED OPPORTUNITY

WE said last week that although the Western nations professed a concern at the hard conditions and lack of liberty under which the East Germans were living they were pursuing a policy that would make any relaxation of those conditions less likely; and that a genuine concern for their welfare would have dictated an attempt at agreement on the unification of Germany on the basis of the offer of free elections made by the East German Government.

Although much sympathy is expressed regarding the conditions under which the people of the Eastern bloc live, they are invariably sacrificed if this may assist the West in building up increased military power. Since these comments were made there has been a very bitter confirmation of their truth.

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With the setting up of the Malenkov Government it became immediately evident that Russia was to pursue a much more conciliatory policy to the rest of the world than had obtained under Stalin.

This changed attitude was also reflected in Russian domestic policy. A number of steps—cautious and tentative, it is true, but still clearly recognisable—were taken toward the humanisation of the regime. There was evidently, for instance, a clean-up of some kind in the MVD, and this was conducted not on the lines of the lethal purge that had accompanied earlier comparable transformations in Russian policy, but merely by the dismissal or transfer of those who had been too closely associated with the old policy.

Then there was the very apparent intention to reduce the populations of the forced labour camps.

Pre-eminently there was the endeavour to improve the living standards of the Russian people. There was a drop in armaments expenditure (not immense, but far from inconsiderable) and a transfer from heavy industry to the production of consumption goods.

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In the field of international affairs there was a multitude of small but significant changes, but two very important ones were the favourable influence brought to bear by the Malenkov Government in a move towards a Korean armistice, and the completely different attitude to Yugoslavia as compared with that taken by the Stalin Government.

All this obviously offered an opportunity to the West to seek a better understanding and end the armaments struggle between the two blocs. This possibility was recognised by Sir Winston Churchill who spoke of the desirability of early top-level talks between the Powers. Under the pressure of the American Government and his own Party, however, Sir Winston began to temporise and became evasive about his proposal, and the West proceeded with its policy of building up "positions of strength," the most formidable bastion of which was to be the rearmament of Germany.

Now, on the eve of Germany's rearmament, the Russian Government makes it clear that any discussions will have to take place, if they are to take place at all, at a new level of armed strength on both sides. The East German army cadres are expanded with a view to the institution of conscription; the previous reduction in Russian armaments expenditure is cancelled out by a new increase; heavy industry is to be developed and the production of consumers' goods slowed down.

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Malenkov's policy has failed. He has been defeated in his foreign policy. Therefore he is displaced and the men take the helm who are ready to place more faith in armed strength and less in a policy of conciliation.

The West had the opportunity to help the Eastern bloc peoples to an easier and possibly freer life. Military power came first, however, and the encouragement of freer and better conditions for those who are not part of the "free world" had to be sacrificed. It is only too likely that in the new phase of the arms struggle there will have to be further liberties and living standards sacrificed by the western peoples in their turn.

MALENKOV'S RESIGNATION

AT home this morning I started this letter with a reference to the Formosan crisis. When I arrived at the railroad station in New York the papers displayed the headline announcing Malenkov's "resignation."

That great issues such as top leadership and policy emphasis are still dealt with in Russia by processes which do not have any resemblance to what we call democracy is vividly illustrated by the fact that the session of the Supreme Soviet at which Malenkov presented his resignation and the Soviet accepted it lasted exactly seven minutes!

Incidentally, I am reliably informed that yesterday afternoon the United States State Department reported confidentially to some inquirers that there was nothing to rumours that some such big change as this in the Russian high command was impending. So US intelligence at any rate did not know any more than the members of the Russian parliament.

Increased military budget

We can take it for certain that there is still a pretty genuine crisis in Soviet agriculture. A great deal of attention is being paid to that problem in the present session of the Supreme Soviet which, by the way, was held at an unusually early date. Similarly, the Malenkov demotion underlines the shift back to emphasis on heavy industry, as against consumer goods production, and the increase in

the Soviet military budget. Not that it means anything decisive in my opinion, but those who are disposed to take an anti-American slant on the least provocation, might note that in this same week Eisenhower has stood firm for a reduction in the US military budget.

Eisenhower did it too

Whether the stepping up of military expenditure by the Soviet Government and the rise in Krushchev's power means that Russian policy is likely to become more aggressive in the near future is highly problematical.

When a new man or party comes into the ascendancy in a big power government, he or it almost always has to claim to be more patriotic and concerned about national defence and interests than the scoundrels who have been pushed out. But this may prove to be window dressing.

Readers will remember that Eisenhower was going to pursue a policy of "liberation" as against the Truman policy of more "containment" of Communism. He was also going to "unleash" Chiang Kai-shek and send him roaring against mainland China. But he did not.

It seems most unlikely that any immediate aggressive move by Russia is indicated in the change, even though a Marshall is made premier. For time is almost certainly needed for the adjustments of personnel—including possible "liquidation" of some—implied in the shift, and also for the additional produc-

The Death Penalty Debate

LAST week's debate in the House of Commons on the Report of the Royal Commission on Capital Punishment, can have left nobody happy. A House of Commons vote in favour of the suspension of the use of the death penalty in 1948 was reversed by the House of Lords but the public disquiet about the continued use of this penalty led to the appointment of a Royal Commission. The Commission produced a Report which the Home Secretary described last week as a comprehensive storehouse of information which is of the utmost value to any student of the problem of capital punishment.

The Report was, however, intended to be more than a source of information, and the Commissioners made numerous recommendations designed to limit and modify the use of the death penalty in this country—which is what they had been specifically asked to do, while at the same time strangely forbidden to discuss the total abolition of the penalty.

Their patient labour, which lasted over four years and cost £23,000; their travels; their sifting of evidence from all parts of the world to reach their conclusion that the death penalty has no uniquely deterrent effect; their detailed examination of the M'Naghten Rules by which the law judges insanity; their observations on many smaller aspects of the problem—all these were swept away in half an hour by the Home Secretary last week, for none of the main recommendations can, in the Government's "provisional" view, be accepted. Nor can notice be taken of the final point made by the Commission—that if its recommendations are not acceptable, the only issue remaining is whether or not we retain the death penalty.

The debate was not in fact a debate on the Report despite one or two good contributions about the paramount need to reconsider the standards by which insanity is assessed in law. The debate became a debate on whether or not we should retain, or try for a period to learn from experience by suspending, the use of the death penalty.

It was marked by a particularly moving speech by Mr. Chuter Ede who revealed his concern that while Home Secretary he may have sent to his death a man (Timothy Evans) who could not, had present knowledge been available, have been found guilty as charged.

A new interest in public opinion?

IT was of no avail. The beginning and end of the debate were marked by pressures from the Government to take notice of public opinion and not to act unless there were evidence that the public is overwhelmingly in favour of abolition. The Government does not necessarily ask whether public opinion is overwhelmingly in favour of atom or hydrogen bombs, conscription or a foreign policy tied to that of America; and the sudden concern for following rather than leading the public in this matter of capital punishment is hardly likely to be regarded seriously.

But it carried the day and the move to suspend the death penalty was defeated by 31 votes, a result which might have been reversed if so many Members of Parliament had not already gone home to their constituencies.

Perhaps they were trying to assess local public opinion?

The result is nevertheless a challenge to all who make or mould public opinion. Opposition to war and violence or its complementary belief in the value of every human life, must surely go hand in hand with opposition to the use

BEHIND THE NEWS

of death and violence as weapons in the armoury of the law.

Pacifists might indeed take heart from the speech made during the debate by Sir Frank Soskice, in which he drew the contrast between our society's sense of kindness and hatred of brutality, and its strange adherence to capital punishment. They should be in the forefront of a new campaign to educate public opinion to abolish within our own country this ancient and barbarous practice, already abandoned throughout Northern and Western Europe with the exceptions of France and Spain.

The abolition of the death penalty would be one further demonstration of the lesson that it is possible to live in peace without the protection of violence and death.

Formosa, China and UN

THERE have now been three sets of proposals for the discussion of the Formosa question:

1. That the matter shall be dealt with by UN, representatives of the Peking Government participating, which has been rejected by China;
2. That the matter should be dealt with by a "Geneva-type" conference; which has brought the counter-proposal from Russia;
3. That there should be a ten-power conference that should include Mao's Government but not Chiang's.

Sir Anthony Eden has expressed his disapproval of the suggestion that Chiang should be excluded, but has commented:

"Any meeting for the discussion of the situation in the area of the coastal islands and Formosa should be organised in a form acceptable to the United Nations."

American pronouncements have equally insisted on the importance of the United Nations in relation to any settlement; and there is something fantastic about this insistence that the Government of a people of 600 million must recognise the standing of a world organisation that refuses to accept its existence.

We have already expressed the view that there is no reason why Britain should approach the problem of Formosa as a problem by itself. Threatening as may be the triangular struggle between Washington, Peking and the Chiang Government it is really a subordinate aspect of the question of the Chinese Government's place in the world. On this issue Britain is in complete disagreement with the US Government and there is little doubt that today Britain would be supported by the great majority of governments, Western and Asian.

It is this issue that the representatives of Britain should place in the foreground today.

The world is in constant danger of war because of the tight-rope-walking policy that has to be pursued by the US Executive between its moderates and its war party. If we get through the Formosan trouble without catastrophe there will be constant new dangers until the issues revolving round the islands of the Pacific are removed from the psychopathic atmosphere in which they are

approached by a part of American opinion.

President Eisenhower has announced that there shall be no support for any attempt by Chiang's forces to return to the mainland.

There follows from this the clear consequence that Chiang's Government is not the Government of China and that this fact is recognised by the United States, and indeed by everybody except Chiang.

Quite clearly then he has no business in the United Nations as representing China.

It follows too that he has no right remain in the Quemoy and Matsu islands. These are held by him as stepping stones to the mainland and have nothing to do with the defence of Formosa.

The reasons why President Eisenhower has refused to make any clear statement about them are that he needs to be ambiguous in order to conciliate his war party and he also needs to leave his intentions doubtful to give him bargaining counters in negotiations regarding Formosa.

The future of Formosa, however, should not be settled as part of a poker game in a power struggle. It should be settled in accordance with the wishes of its inhabitants as soon as it can be arranged for these to express their desires secure from the influence of military threats.

SHAPE plans for the 1960 war

HOW might the 1960 war have to be fought? asks Supreme Allied Headquarters, Paris, in their contribution to the survey, "Five Years of the North Atlantic Treaty."

It continues, "What are the assumptions and the problems which the SHAPE planners have to take into account looking five or six years ahead?"

In a hypothetical instance "Red" Air Force fighter-bombers swoop on to every one of NATO airfields, and drop a tactical atomic bomb. "If such a blow were only 50 per cent. effective," calculates SHAPE "it could still be enough to alter decisively our chances of holding out in the opening phase of the war."

SHAPE's solution to such a situation is to have more airfields and a wider dispersion of NATO tactical air power, plus constant improvement of search radar and forward warning networks.

SHAPE planning assumes that a whole range of tactical atomic weapons will be available for NATO ground forces—not only the 280 mm atomic cannon, already in Germany and the Matador pilotless bomber, but also ground-to-ground air missiles, which may be launched from any potato field or forest clearing.

Backed up by this sort of weapon, the role of the ground forces in a future war would be to "channel" enemy ground attacks and force the enemy to concentrate its forces and supplies so that atomic weapons can come into play.

Chattingly, the SHAPE planners conclude: "An atomic explosion is not to be misused or misjudged the way a 105 mm shell can be badly aimed."

"Accurately handled, on the basis of correct intelligence at the right moment of a ground action, atomic ground weapons could basically alter the course of a battle."

We have no doubt that, whether handled accurately or not, they will alter the course of many young lives.

Letter from U.S.A. by A. J. Muste

tion of military heavy goods which has been undertaken.

Another likely result of the Malenkov crisis, it seems to me, is that confusion in Western European countries over German rearmament and related matters will be increased and the final decisions on rearmament will be delayed. Everybody will be saying that it would be silly to finalise things until there has been full opportunity to explore what Bulganin-Krushchev really want or will accept.

In the period immediately following Stalin's death I wrote an article for one of our magazines suggesting that the emphasis on corporate leadership by Soviet propagandists ought to be taken more seriously than it was regarded by students of Communism who asserted unequivocally that a Communist regime could function only on the basis of one man dictatorship. I suggested that the sort of corporate control which characterises American business might be applied in state operated business and planned economy.

Russia and China

I think it cannot be questioned that a struggle for ascendancy between Krushchev and Malenkov has been a factor in recent Russian developments, and certainly this does not furnish clear positive support for the thesis that the trend is toward the development of corporate leadership as against that of heroic and infallible leader. But once again I feel that it may be advisable to suspend judgment. As I pointed out then, the big

issue is whether a genuine joint leadership of the Russian and Chinese parties can emerge and develop. If it does, this would preclude any such all-dominant figure as Stalin was.

In the political swamp

Two other political situations seem to me to emphasize the importance of clear decisions on the issue of war and violence by progressives, socialists, labour parties, etc. Some of us are stunned when we read that British Labour is now united—Attlee and Bevan and the rest—on a two-plan programme for attacking the Tories:

1. Campaign for universal disarmament;
2. Expose the inadequacy of the Churchill cabinet's provision for British defensive and deterrent power.

The Mendes-France crisis likewise proclaims the crying need of a Third Camp. In the end a politician in his position—no matter how brilliant and energetic—is caught between fighters for independence as in Tunis and Morocco—for whom he does not go far enough in ending the old colonial domination—and the various conservative interests for which he goes too far and is "betraying the Republic." Furthermore, Socialists and labourites who will not definitely join the Third Camp have to support such a political figure, which always means that the reactionaries, on the one hand, and Communists on the other hold the balance of power. Would that this entanglement of Socialist and labour forces in a political swamp might end!

Foster a policy of neutrality

—Reginald Reynolds

THE policy which we need now to foster is that which is sometimes described as the Third Camp," writes Reginald Reynolds in a long article in "The Friend" (February 11), which urges support for the policy of neutrality.

Describing the task of the "Third Camp" as not only observing neutrality but working actively for peace, Reginald Reynolds continues: "Such a conception might give meaning to the phrase 'benevolent neutrality'; not as the equivalent of 'ambiguous hostility,' but as an expression of good will to human beings, irrespective of frontiers and ideologies. But it is clear that this positive and creative function of a 'Third Camp' is meaningless without the maintenance of neutrality, just as the constructive function of the individual pacifist assumes one essential negation—his refusal to take part in war."

Reginald Reynolds points out that there are two forces at work at present—the one can destroy human life on the earth altogether; the other may be able to end war.

"It may be the beginning of a landslide in the direction of wholehearted pacifism," he comments, when referring to the deviation from views of long-standing of such people as General MacArthur.

"A campaign for neutrality beginning here and in America, in no way precludes immediate efforts to bring about a cease-fire in the Chinese Civil War."

"Nor does it rule out the necessity for efforts to build a new world in place of one dominated by fear and hatred, by social, political and racial oppression, and all the many forms assumed by the power-complex (self worship), which is the greatest cause of human strife."

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"African Schools and Families Fund" launched

THE lamp of learning for the African population of the Union of South Africa has virtually been extinguished by the South African Bantu Education Act of 1953.

Bantu—the word means "the African people"—number approximately eight and a half million, three quarters of the total population.

The Act, which gives unrestricted powers in registration and establishment of African schools to a white man, Dr. H. F. Verwoerd, Minister of Native Affairs, denies to African children the privileges of education known to their white brothers and sisters.

Most hard-hitting factor is the withdrawal of subsidies to the Missions, who have been running 4,335 schools of the total 4,567 which cater for African children. Without financial aid, these Missions will be forced to curtail activities, or shut completely.

Petty restrictions, which can only be interpreted as obstacles intended to prevent the Bantu from attaining the white man's standard of education, have also been introduced. School hours have been shortened to three hours a day for Africans in sub-standards. During that period parents and children are responsible for the care and cleaning of classrooms and school grounds.

Representatives of the South African Government have attacked Mission education for giving the Africans liberal ideas and teaching them to expect equality with the white man. This is a grave reflection on the Mission workers, who, apparently, should have firstly educated the white population of the Union in Christian ethics!

"There is no place for the Bantu in the European community above the level of certain forms of labour," the Minister of Native Affairs has recently said. Our forefathers, who strove to release the native from slavery, might well question the authority of such a statement.

The Education League of South Africa have condemned the policy of the Act as "a retrogressive move which will perpetuate our national legislation the inequality and discriminatory treatment of education for Africans, and referred to the following clause as "the most objectionable and revealing recommendation" in the Commissions report:

English and Africans are to be "taught in such a way that the Bantu child will be able to find his way in European communities; to follow oral or written instructions; and to carry on a simple conversation with Europeans about his work and other subjects of common interest."

Despite the strangle-hold grip the Bantu Education Act threatens to have on the Missions, many workers are determined to continue, even if they can only keep one school in a diocese, or provide centres for out-of-doors activities. Commendable as this courage is, it is useless without funds.

The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel has commenced an emergency fund for the work of Anglican churches among the Bantu, and for those who want to make a practical contribution irrespective of denomination or party, the Africa Bureau (69 Gt. Peter St., London, S.W.1.) have opened an "African Schools and Families Fund."

ANY QUESTIONS?

If one result of radio and television programmes has been a greatly decreased interest in public meetings, the popularity of the "Any Questions?" and similar programmes seems to have made such meetings attractive. That is one reason why the Peace Pledge Union has been running a series of "Any Questions?" meetings.

Pacifists find it useful to be able to get an answer to some of the questions they are asked, while non-pacifists are also interested in the opportunity to heckle a pacifist platform. We can arrange many more of these meetings if Headquarters Fund can help to finance them and similar PPU activities.

You may wonder what happens to the money you send in week by week. It certainly does not stay in the bank for long, because there is a constant demand on our resources for the hire of halls, payment for posters and leaflets, into which your money is quickly changed.

Wherever there is a demonstration or a leaflet distribution or a poster parade you can see your money in use.

There is also the maintenance of Dick Sheppard House and the staff who work there, and we would be delighted if you would come in and see what your money looks like in terms of bricks and mortar and busy people. If you have any other questions to ask, we will gladly answer them.

You, for your part, can help to provide the answer to our constant question as to where the money is to come from to keep the PPU increasingly active. Any Answers this week? Lots and lots, I hope, for we need £60 by March 1 to maintain our good start and make our monthly average for the year.

STUART MORRIS,
General Secretary.

Amount received to date: £107.
Our aim for the year: £1,000.

Donations to the Peace Pledge Union should be sent marked "Headquarters Fund," to the PPU Treasurer at Dick Sheppard House, 44 Leighton Street, W.C.1.

Twice-sentenced war resister joins International H.Q.

From a Correspondent

THE War Resisters' International has announced the appointment of Arlo Tatum as a further Assistant Secretary. He was due to arrive in England from New York on February 16 and will work at the WRI Headquarters at Enfield.

Until this month Arlo Tatum has been the Executive Secretary of the War Resisters' League (USA) which is one of the 45 affiliated Sections of the WRI. (The British Section is the Peace Pledge Union).

Peace News readers are well aware of the many years of devoted service which the WRI General Secretary, Grace M. Beaton has given to our cause, and have been sorry to learn that recently the long period of overwork due to expanding activities in response to the challenge of our times has taken its toll on her health. Consequently in 1953

Tony Bishop came from Australia to share the work of the Secretariat and now the appointment of Arlo Tatum is a further step to meet the needs of the present situation. Arlo and Tony will work with the same status as Assistant Secretaries.

An old hand...

Arlo Tatum is no newcomer to pacifism. Born in 1923—a Birthright Quaker—in Prairie City, Iowa, USA, he was educated partly at William Penn College. But his youth provided not only scholastic seclusion. In between times he carried papers, was a grocery delivery boy, washed dishes in a hospital, worked in a library and clerked in a book store.

The year 1941 found him for two months working in the American Friends Service Committee Peace Caravan and in 1942 he spent three months at an AFSC Work Camp at Pasa de Ovejas, Mexico.

...and an old lag

This was followed by a prison sentence of 3½ years for failure to register for military service. He served 16 months in the Federal Correctional Institute at Sandstone, Minnesota, where he was a dental assistant and technician. Later he was paroled to the hospital laundry and subsequently changed to the Illinois Neuro-psychiatric Institute to work with problem children.

In 1945 after attending the American Conservatory of Music he became a professional singer and also worked with a Theatrical Agency. (Rumour has it that later some pacifists wished he had a more conventional background—except when he was giving benefit concerts for pacifist and other projects.)

Came 1949 and a further prison sentence, again for failure to register for military service. This time after serving ten months in prison at Springfield, Missouri, he was paroled without conditions. He resumed his professional singing and vocal coaching.

Personal tragedy

The year 1951, however, brought a tragic interruption to Arlo's career. An auto-train accident resulted in his spending most of the year in various hospitals "being put back together". Still he survived this tragedy which would have killed most people ("I expect that now I'll die of something like a cut finger") and in 1952 worked at AFSC Headquarters in Philadelphia.

New York

In January 1953, Arlo went to work with the

War Resisters' League in New York and in August 1953 became its Executive Secretary. During this period he was also a Member of the Metropolitan Board for Conscientious Objectors, the Central Committee for COs, the Peacemakers Continuation Committee, the Third Camp Contact Committee, the International Third Camp Contact Committee and the Consultative Peace Council. At one period he was also serving with the Committee for Justice to Puerto Ricans and the Editorial Board of Anvil.

Europe

During the summer of 1954, Arlo visited Germany, Italy, Switzerland, France and England and was the chief USA delegate at the Paris Conference of the WRI. Typically he covered much of the cost of his journey by working on a student ship as Recreational Director for the Council on Student Travel.

His new appointment should serve to strengthen the links in the world-wide war resistance movement.

MALAYA, KOREA, KENYA

"Fortunate to have these little shoots!"

There is a cynical ring of truth in the recent remark of a senior British General:

"You know, we've always been rather fortunate in our military to have these little shoots going on here and there. It's simply no good having your military always doing planning and theory. There's nothing like a whiff of grapeshot to keep a military establishment on its toes, and we've always had some place to send our chaps to do some fighting."

—"Five Years of the North Atlantic Treaty," reprinted from the New York Herald Tribune, 1954.

BRIEFLY...

Agreements have been reached between Michael Todd, American film producer and the Yugoslav Government over the filming of Tolstoy's "War and Peace." Work will commence in Yugoslavia in September, and units of the Yugoslav Army will co-operate in the making of the film.

The Independent Labour Party passed an emergency resolution in London on February 6, opposing any attempt to make the "defence" of Formosa the beginning of a new war.

A set of four postage stamps to memorialize the work of the man of compassion—Dr. Albert Schweitzer—has been prepared by the Principality of Monaco.

Excellent logic presented in simple words is A. Ruth Fry's latest pamphlet, "An Unarmed World," obtainable from the Author, 48 Clarendon Road, London, W.11. Price 3d.

PRISON NEXT?

A young London Quaker, Peter Twilley, has been refused exemption from conscription by the London Appellate Tribunal.

PEOPLE AND PLACES

By Hugh Brock

THE NAME IS NELSON

FROM the American journal, Peacemaker, I learn that pacifists in the US are still at work on the colour bar operated by the Greyhound Bus Line.

Discrimination in seating ended sometime back, though it meant the chain gang for some of the negro pacifists who sat in "white" seats before a High Court decision on the issue was handed down.

The latest incident occurred at a Greyhound bus station in Virginia, where Mrs. Juanita Nelson, well-known Fellowship of Reconciliation race relations worker, went to the lunch counter with the other passengers only to be ordered by the manager to go to a section where negro customers were served.

Mrs. Nelson remained seated at the "white" counter until the bus was due to leave and then helped herself to a prepared sandwich from a container.

When she went to pay for it at the cash desk the manager pushed her and manhandled her, knocking her to the ground.

Then a surprising thing happened. A policeman appeared on the scene and warned the manager against pushing people around. (How often in such a situation does the policeman walk away?)

The manager said that he had not intended to knock Mrs. Nelson down, but that she was lucky he had not been rougher with her. So the incident closed.

Mrs. Nelson has been active with the Cincinnati Committee on Human Relations in ending discrimination at Coney Island Amusement Park and, several years ago now,

in opening the music schools of Cincinnati to all races.

The "liberation" of Coney Island was not achieved before Mrs. Nelson had been arrested and spent several days in jail.

NEW COLLEGE GROUP

THERE is some steady spade-work being done by pacifists in Colleges and Universities these days.

Early this month John Millwood wrote in from the Co-operative College, Stanford Hall, Loughborough (Leics.), asking for eight Peace News to be sent each week and saying that he was getting a group together.

Now I hear that the Loughborough College Pacifist Fellowship has had its foundation meeting. A Scottish student, Bill Crow has been appointed Secretary. John Millwood is handling Peace News sales.

He has stepped up his order to 12 copies weekly and armed himself with 100 leaflets.

Good luck to them. What student organisations lack in funds they make up with work and enthusiasm.

THANKS TO UNKNOWN READERS

TALKING of money... Bernard Withers of the Central Board for Conscientious Objectors tells me that my note on January 21 about the increasing number of conscientious objectors and the financial strain the Board is bearing as a consequence, brought in an anonymous donation of £10 and a number of other useful contributions.

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A united peace movement

TO THE EDITOR

I MUST thank you for giving space in your columns (of Jan. 28) to an expression of non-pacifist opinion, and for drawing attention to my views in your leading article, but evidently I failed to make them clear.

Horsemen at a gymkhana may discuss the refusal of horses to jump, and when I wrote of the refusal of pacifists to co-operate with others I never imagined that you would suppose me to believe this refusal to be general. I can find no suggestion in my letter that pacifists have not opposed German rearmament, and I am puzzled by the remarks made on this point. My letter was an attempt to emphasise, perhaps too bluntly, my belief that there are factors in pacifism which hinder the establishment of unity for war-prevention, and I omitted any acknowledgement of the pacifist contribution to the peace movement because I assumed this would be taken for granted.

★

Although I do not share the convictions of pacifists I have no desire to change them; my argument is that pacifists can, without abandoning their beliefs, join with non-pacifists in advocating practical policies to relieve world tension. I do not dislike pacifists; I wish they were more numerous and more active. My purpose is to point to certain weaknesses of pacifism which could be removed with the result of strengthening the movement.

When the writer of your leading article implies that a person who calls himself a non-pacifist has no positive beliefs about peace he is merely making a debating point. His further suggestion that I do not trouble to read Peace News is unjustified. I am a constant and careful reader of your paper, from which I get much help and inspiration. I wish it had a much larger circulation, as it would have if it was fully supported by all professing pacifists.

★

The main purpose of my letter was to point to two weaknesses of pacifism, which are both linked with the common pacifist error that pacifism can be divorced from politics. If it is true that, as Middleton Murry more than once wrote, "pacifism is not politics" because it is not primarily concerned with the problems of war, then there is no more to say. If, however, pacifism claims to have some relevance to the problem of war-prevention it must, I maintain, be concerned with politics, since war is a political phenomenon.

The first weakness, shown by pacifists who adopt this error as an intellectual cloak for their desire to avoid unorthodox behaviour, is a tendency to retreat into inaction. I realise, of course, that hush-hush pacifists, who if they refer to their convictions at all do so with lowered voices, are not likely to be associated with Peace News, the bulk of whose readers have doubtless realised that the profession of pacifism is useless if it does not show itself in some measure.

★

The second weakness is to adopt a "nothing but" attitude which prevents co-operation with other peace-workers. This point can be illustrated from your reference to my belief that a united peace movement could induce the Western Powers to modify their reliance on weapons of mass destruction. I think that the demands for a declaration by our Government that it will never sanction the initial use of nuclear weapons, for an international agreement to refrain from experimental detonation of such weapons, and for an international conference to devise means for a controlled ban on their manufacture are all practical demands which, if met, would greatly reduce international tension. The pacifist notion that nothing but unilateral repudiation of nuclear and other weapons is of any avail merely hinders effective progress.

★

I agree with you that Eden, Churchill, Attlee, Dulles and Eisenhower would all endorse my belief that permanent world peace will come through a gradual lessening of international friction. They would not, however, at present endorse the aims that a world peace union would adopt in the attempt to bring this about, for these would include a reunited and neutral Germany, progressive general disarmament, and mobilisation for the war on want. A united peace movement far greater and wider than any now in existence could, through the active co-operation of pacifists and non-pacifists, be set up to further many policies not endorsed by the "peace through strength" politicians, and to take us step by step forward on the long road to world security.

★

Such a movement cannot be established as a result of an artificial pact between pacifists and Communist sympathisers. Pacifists and fellow-travellers cannot indeed work together successfully except in groups which include others. Union for peace will spring from more vigorous action by all peace-lovers in the groups in which they work at present, provided that their work is planned so that as many as possible can join in it.

S. W. GREEN.

43 Wulfstan Way,
Cambridge.

Other letters on next page

Has the Church of England a Foreign Policy?

STUART MORRIS
reviews theArchbishop of York's
new book"World Problems
of Today"

THE Archbishop of York now believes that he was mistaken when on the spur of the moment he gave a negative reply to the question whether the Church of England had a foreign policy.

Further reflection has convinced him that though the Church has no definite programme there are principles which have guided Christians in their attitude to questions of foreign policy.

His most recent book *WORLD PROBLEMS OF TODAY** is concerned with the nature of six world problems and the attitude which Christians should adopt towards them.

Many of the chapters are revised sermons and addresses given on different occasions and to that extent the book lacks coherence and it is not a book which lends itself to a short review. It is, however, possible to appraise the attempt which Dr. Garbett makes to apply Christian principles to world problems.

There is a vigour and clarity about his writing unusual in a man of eighty, but there is also often a naivety about his conclusions surprising in a man of his long experience. Too often he allows dogmatic assertions to take the place of argument and bases conclusions upon assumptions which are not always generally accepted.

Collective Security

Typical examples are his acceptance of the view that North Korea was alone responsible for flagrant aggression, so that he justifies UN intervention, believes that its prestige has been increased as a result, and puts his faith in collective security.

He deplores the tragedy of Hiroshima and Nagasaki but accepts as valid the military excuses for dropping the atom bombs, so that he would justify the use of the H-bombs under certain circumstances.

He suggests that "for the safety of our Island and of Europe we must often be ready to subordinate our own wishes to those of our powerful ally" and "be profoundly thankful that leadership has passed to this democratic state and not to one built on power politics."

Such assertions cannot but lead to a suspicion of his whole method of argument and to his fundamental approach to the subject of peace and war.

There is, for instance, no doubt in Dr. Garbett's mind that "the military weakness of Britain and France and the shrill voices of pacifists declaring that they would never fight encouraged Germany to take the path which led to war."

Disarmament

So he answers the plea that it is a Christian duty to call for unilateral atomic disarmament, —as setting an example to others, demonstrating peaceful intentions and following Christian principles—by this assertion:

"If Great Britain surrendered the right to make and possess these weapons she would soon lose her freedom. She would throw away the position she has in the world... be able to protect neither herself, the Commonwealth and Empire, nor the smaller States which look for help in the preservation of liberty."

"She would soon become a satellite of Russia or a protectorate of the USA. We

might thus satisfy our own conscience and scruples at the cost of those who have trusted us.

"But even if this surrender of nuclear weapons were made, it is very doubtful if it would help the cause of world peace. More probably it would be a direct incentive to an aggressor. The defencelessness of a nation would encourage its enemies to attack..."

"For a State to lay down its weapons in an armed world would be equivalent to a Government withdrawing protection from the West End of London in the hope that this gesture of trust would be respected by burglars and footpads."

So what? Is Dr. Garbett only or mainly concerned with the possible consequence of

believes to be the consequences of certain actions to determine how far the standards are to be applied or moderated.

When he is dealing with the problem of World Hunger, Population or the Colour Question he has no hesitation in applying his standards and it is the duty of the Church both to urge governments to take adequate steps to deal with the problems and also to call for the sacrifices necessary by the more prosperous countries. He insists that Christians must refuse to recognise any colour bar within the Churches and oppose by word and vote and example any policy of racial discrimination.



TENTH ANNIVERSARY OF A GREAT CRIME

Dresden, Germany, after the Allied bombing raid in February, 1945. Thousands of bodies were stacked up and cremated in the streets. The raid, strategically unnecessary, was the greatest Allied war crime in Europe. A Swiss estimate of the casualties was between 250,000 and 300,000.

actions and not with their morality?

That is the fundamental weakness of the Archbishop's position. He asserts that the Church of England has approached foreign affairs with certain *unchangeable* standards (the italics are mine) and lists four primary and fundamental convictions: the Sovereign-Fatherhood of God over all races, nations and individuals; the value of every individual in His eyes; the need that justice should govern nations as well as individuals; and that nations and races should always act as members of an universal family.

But he himself does not apply these convictions consistently, and he allows what he

In these fields he is not bedevilled by the fear that such action might be followed by disastrous consequences for the Church or for Britain, and so he applies these principles logically.

But when he is dealing with "Peace and War in an Atomic Age" or "Christianity and Communism", he allows possible consequences to enter in and weakens the application of his principles by considerations of expediency.

When he contrasts Christianity and Communism he tends to set the worst aspects of Communism against the ideal conception of the Church. Indeed, in considering the modern conflict between the Church and the World he seems to equate the World with the Communist controlled countries.

Take, for instance, this description of the Church militant here on earth.

"The Churches lack the unity of Communism and are weakened by their divisions, but they are drawing closer together as they find themselves threatened by a common danger. All are united in the conviction that they must obey God rather than man..."

"They all repudiate the claims of any form of totalitarianism to possess and control human beings as mere instruments to serve the State..."

"The Church has its weapons, but they are spiritual and not material, though often to its grievous harm it has been persuaded to use the weapons of violence, wealth, prestige and falsehood in the attempt to extend its powers and to suppress its foes."

"But it has also a great roll of martyrs... Those who have suffered and died rather than obey the dictates of Caesar when contrary to the commandments of God."

If that were true in fact, how can the Archbishop suggest that in the last resort and as the answer to Communism a Christian must acquiesce as in the State's conception of security and in the use of war and violence?

The Archbishop sees four special contributions which a Christian can make to the cause of peace:

1. Regular and persistent prayer;
2. The endeavour to remove the sins which result in war;
3. Working for closer co-operation between the nations; and
4. Though the goal of the Christian must be the ultimate abolition of war, he knows that this will only be reached after the long and painful journey. He must therefore press taken to take from war some of its worst horrors.

□ ON PAGE FIVE

* Published by Hodder and Stoughton (4s. 6d.) The two quotations at the top of Sybil Morrison's article last week came from chapters one and six.

They served our movement...

BEATRICE BROWN

"I was glad when they said unto me, let us go into the house of the Lord."

BEATRICE BROWN passed from this life on Wednesday morning February 2, after only a few days illness. Our sense of loss is transformed to thankfulness that, after so many years of service to her Lord, she has not been laid aside, unable to continue service, yet forced to wait upon the threshold of His presence. Lingered upon thresholds never appealed to Beatrice; her choice would have been for working here, or reporting on her stewardship hereafter, so that her quick transition from an active life of committees and meetings, through the Valley, to her Maker, must be counted for thankfulness.

Experienced in minority causes by work as a Suffragette and with the peace movement during the 1914/18 war, Beatrice Brown served as Secretary of the No More War Movement in the early 1920s. In 1926 she undertook the Secretaryship of the London Union of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, of which she had for some time been a member. It was a time of great difficulty for the pacifist movement, but her labours established a sound basis of organisation and development, the fruits of which are still seen. Although she retired from this work in 1943, after seventeen years devoted service, she never retired from active help, remaining on the London Union Committee ever since and serving at the same time on the General Committee and other committees of the Fellowship. It would be difficult to say how many benefitted by her influence, interest and advice in all these years. But she was never "just a member" of the committees on which she served; she gave her thoughts, words, and when required, her deeds, to the furtherance of the movements in which she was concerned.

She was for many years a faithful and active member of the Society of Friends, and prison welfare work and spiritual healing were concerns to which she gave outstanding service.

And so we rejoice that she has entered into the closer fellowship of the Master, because we know that she has earned His "Well done, thou good and faithful servant... enter thou into the joy of thy Lord," and we acknowledge, humbly and sincerely, our own immense debt to her for precept and example over so many years.

MAX PARKER.

A memorial meeting will take place in Friends House, Euston, on Wednesday, Feb. 23 at 6.30 p.m.

ARTHUR RASHLEIGH

BISHOP Fyffe, in the "Church Times," February 4, writing about Arthur Rashleigh, who died recently at the age of ninety-five, after a life's work with the Church, says: "He was a fairly wealthy man, but a convinced Socialist, regarding his Socialism as an essential part of his religion. He carried out his principles to the letter, giving away all he had and reserving only a small annuity for himself and his wife."

"St. Agnes", Bristol, now reaps the benefit of some of his generosity. He was a vegetarian and a pacifist, a non-smoker and a teetotaler. He cared nothing for preferment or any other prize the Church had to offer... A type of priest to whom the Church owes much."

JOHN DEARNE

THE peace movement in Britain has suffered a loss in the death of John Harry Dearne, member of Worcestershire County Council and formerly a notable headmaster of Castle Road School, Oldbury. Imprisoned for peace in 1916, he remained uncompromisingly a pacifist.

He was closely connected with the Warley Institutional Church, Birmingham, founded by his brother-in-law, G. Norman Robbins, and dedicated to the ideals of Social Justice, Temperance and the Brotherhood of Men.

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Julian Amery's indiscretion

WHAT a pity there is so much pre-judice against the official American Formosa policy.

In "The World and Ourselves" (*Home*), Richard Scott presented the facts, and instead of leaving listeners to draw their own conclusions, suggested: "The Chinese would rather take than receive... life is cheap in Communist China."

Julian Amery, in "Any Questions" (*Home and Light*), did his best to "Canute" the tide of mounting protest. True, we caught just a glimpse of the high ideals of alliances when he said: "If we give them moral support, we have a right to demand American support (in troubled areas). We did not get it in Suez and Abadan." (Posterity will thank Peace News for recording this gem!)

Let us get the matter in its true perspective. One has only to remember that Formosa is about 6,000 miles from the American mainland and that the Chinese Communists are being taught to swim for the American case to be unassailable!

"Return of a Hero" (*Home*), may be readable as a novel, but adapted as a Radio play it is downright inadequate. The Foreign Office and War Office combine to foist on the public a national hero, Captain Lewis, who knows that the real hero is Faulkland, an idealist, written off for political (oil) purposes.

Reading of the murder of Faulkland by Arabs, and government inspired reports that he was a renegade, Lewis calls a press conference and exposes the plot. He is arrested for court martial. A bomb sent to his opinion is roused, hero worship is intensified and the authorities dare not proceed with the court martial. The "hero" then destroys the only piece of evidence which would clear Faulkland's name! The play ends with Lewis's wife-to-be saying: "You did not fail yourself."

The cast of twenty and excellent sound effects deserved a better fate.

★

When Professor Hart was commenting on the issue of Capital Punishment in "At Home and Abroad" (*Home*), we were hoping to be enlightened regarding a statement made in the House "that experienced people had persuaded the Government capital punishment is a deterrent to murder." We suggest that those most qualified to assess the value of this ghastly exit have either refrained from murder because of the consequences, or committed it in spite of them. Must we credit the government with being on terms of intimacy with a majority of the former or have they based their decision on the psychopaths and 70 per cent. of murderers later found to be insane? There murderers later found to be insane?

The hypocrisy for the necessity "Of overwhelming public opinion before a change is made," is too transparent. Was capital punishment introduced by public opinion? and was the same overwhelming public opinion needed for conscription, NATO and the rearming of Germany?

As this is a free service, we reserve the right to select notices for publication. We nevertheless desire to make it as complete a service as we reasonably can, and therefore urge organisers of events to:

Friday, February 18
CROSBY, LIVERPOOL: 8 p.m.; Lansbury Ho., Crosby Rd. Lewis Edwards and Alan Litherland. Public Mtg. Crosby PPU.
GLASGOW: 7.45 p.m.; Community Ho., Clyde St., 1. Group Meeting. PPU.
LONDON, E.3: 7.45 p.m.; Children's Ho., Haveling Rd. Gp. business mtg. and discussion. PPU.

Saturday, February 19
HOLLOWAY: 4-9.30 p.m.; Holloway Friends Mtg. Ho., 404 Camden Rd. (Tube: Holloway Rd.). Social. PYAG.

Sunday, February 20
LONDON, W.1: 3.30 p.m.; King's Weigh House Church, Binney St. (Nf. Bond St. stn.). Pacifist Universalist Service. Ian Dixon. "A Young Man Looks at Religion." PPU Religion Commission.

Monday, February 21
BELFAST: 8 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., Frederick St. John S. Hoyland; Public Mtg. "A Christian faces the H-bomb."
WOLVERHAMPTON: 7.30 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., Horsman St. Sir Geoffrey Mander. "The Formosa Crisis." Peace Council.

Wednesday, February 23
BELFAST: 8 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho. Rev. R. R. Davey. "The Challenge at Evanston." For.

Thursday, February 24
LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd. Group Discussion. PPU.
LONDON, W.C.1: 7.30 p.m.; Dick Sheppard Ho., 6 Endsleigh St. Fred Moorhouse (For). "Idealism, Materialism and War." PYAG.

Saturday, February 26
LEEDS: 3 p.m.; Swarthmore Educational Settlement, Woodhouse Sq. Annual General Mtg. PPU.

Every week!

SUNDAYS
HYDE PARK: 3 p.m.; Pacifist Youth Action Group, Every Sunday. PYAG.

TUESDAYS
MANCHESTER: 1-2 p.m.; Deansgate Blitz Site. Christian pacifist open-air mtg. Local Methodist ministers and others. MPF.

WEDNESDAYS
NOTTINGHAM: 1.15 p.m.; Open-air mtg. Old Market Sq. Rev. Donald Pipe and others. For.

THURSDAYS
LONDON, W.C.1: 1.15-1.45 p.m.; Church of St. George the Martyr, Queen St. Weekly lunch-hour Service of Intercession for World Peace. Conducted by clergy and laymen of different denominations.

Friday, February 18
CROSBY, LIVERPOOL: 8 p.m.; Lansbury Ho., Crosby Rd. Lewis Edwards and Alan Litherland. Public Mtg. Crosby PPU.
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The mess of the militarists

COULD we have, particularly from our pacifist platforms, a little more light ridicule of the mess in which the militarists find themselves? God knows, they are leaving themselves wide open to ridicule.

Consider (1) the blatant farce of civil "defence"; (2) the mystery of the alleged Churchill telegram; (3) freedom and democracy as they obtain in Cyprus; (4) the folly of Formosa; (5) the extension of conscription in Britain for the next generation followed by America's proposal to make a 25 per cent. reduction in her army; and (6) the imbecility of arming Germany, as if 12 divisions could conquer or deflect one H-bomb.

The experienced speaker knows that, when an audience laughs with him, he has gone a long way to capture their sympathies for his more serious appeal.

TOM SULLIVAN.
31 Knockbreda Pk., Belfast.

BBC and minorities

MY thanks to Tom Wardle for his plea to the BBC to give minority opinion a chance on the air ("Give minorities a fair deal," January 28). The outburst against the broadcasts by Mrs. Knight gave some indication of the stilling influence exerted on orthodox opinion.

What was perhaps the most significant feature of this campaign was that the loudest

STUART MORRIS

□ FROM PAGE FOUR

But why if "the Christian when he prays is an optimist" and war is not inevitable, must its abolition of necessity be a long process? Surely nothing will prolong the process or make war more likely than the absence of any call to Christians to renounce what is admittedly "incompatible with the teaching and example of Christ."

If the Christian must endeavour to remove the sins which result in war, must he not equally remove the sin of war from himself? If his ultimate goal must be the abolition of war, what better start can he make than by his own decision to renounce it?

The trouble is that neither here, nor so far as I know elsewhere, has the Archbishop given to pacifism the same serious consideration as he has given to some of the problems about which he has written. That may be because he hesitates, for fear of the consequences to follow his fundamental principles and convictions to their logical conclusion. Perhaps, after all, his instinctive answer to the question with which the book opens is nearer to the truth as he sees it than his second thoughts.

On his showing the Church of England has no distinctive Christian foreign policy, because its leaders are content to express their policy in terms which are more in line with the political expediency of the Foreign Office than with the fundamental principles of Christianity.

There is no leadership in the pronouncement "War is incompatible with the example of Christ" unless it is followed by a demand that foreign policy shall be based upon the refusal to threaten or use violence and on unilateral disarmament whatever the risk, and by the call to all Christians to take up their cross and follow in secon of consequences.

LETTERS

voices came from the Press, organised religion, and individual dignitaries of the Church—all of whom have been telling us for years how opinion is stifled behind the Iron Curtain. I view with pleasurable anticipation the outburst when a representative atheist is allowed to broadcast.

W. R. FREEMAN.
197 Conisborough Crescent, Cardiff, S.E.6.

Formosa

I WAS amazed to read, in the concluding paragraph of your editorial (PN February 4) your proposed temporary settlement of the "problem" of Formosa.

This would mean the placing of Formosa under the trusteeship of an organisation which includes the USA and Chiang Kai-shek and which excludes China. Could China reasonably be expected to agree to such an arrangement?

The Americans were clearly told by the United Nations at the end of the last war that Formosa was a Chinese island which had been "stolen" by Japan, and must be returned to China. But they stayed, turning it into a base for attack. Unless the USA is the acknowledged ruler of the world, she should be told to leave Formosa, which should be handed over to China—which is in no way represented by Chiang.

The fact that the Chinese Government contains Communists does not alter the justice of the case.

KATHLEEN M. JONES.
30 Rosemary Ave., Hounslow, Mddx.

[People live on Formosa. It is our view that they should have something to say about how they are to be "handed over."—Ed.]

Magistrate's dilemma

YOU report (PN January 7) that Geoffrey G. Raphael, the Marylebone magistrate, when sentencing Christopher Farley to six months imprisonment, expressed the view that "this is a most distasteful task. It is a shocking thing that a young man has to be sent to prison in this way."

Mr. Raphael would be mistaken were he really to suppose that he is bound to perform such distasteful tasks. No young man has to be sent to prison in this way. Magistrates are not conscripts. They are all volunteers, and none is under compulsion to remain a magistrate.

Mr. Raphael, like Pilate before him, sensed the unerring impulse of the "still small voice."

CHAS. NEWMAN.
Beechcroft, Brownhill, Stroud.

Alternative Service

I SHOULD like very much to let Miss Morrison know why I, at least, accepted conditional registration as a conscientious objector (Peace in Perspective, PN January 28).

To most unreasoning people COs are regarded as merely trying to dodge National Service at all costs. When I tell people that I am a CO, and I turn a bacon slicer all day, I gain more sympathy for the cause than I would if I said I would do nothing while all my pals were away.

DAVID GODIN.
139 Church Rd., Bexleyheath, Kent.

Unjustified attack

CONGRATULATIONS to Peace News for publicising the case of Dennis Edward Stevens, at the South Western Tribunal for Conscientious Objectors (PN February 4).

Many of the ideas of Jehovah's Witnesses sound crazy to most of us, besides Judge Wethered, but the spectacle of a Judge publicly attacking sincerely held religious beliefs (especially those of a sensitive 18-year-old) is outrageous, and helps to mar our much vaunted free society.

"It just does not make sense that a 16-year-old boy without training or experience can be regarded as a minister," says the Judge. To minister is to serve. Judge Wethered is one of the majority who support the conscription of 18-year-olds to serve—in H.M. Forces; few, alas, quibble as to whether these boys are old enough for National Service.

CONNIE THORPE.
37 Wellington Rd., Birmingham 20.

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Christian must
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Colour Bar

□ FROM PAGE ONE

opportunity to make a living, the opportunity to laugh, the opportunity to play?

"Yet let us not forget that the real answer in the long term is that the island homes should be developed."

Briefly he outlined the series of events that had led to the present position.

That conditions in the West Indies were bad had long been known. There had been Royal Commission reports on unemployment in the Islands; there had been a report on population which advocated the emigration of West Indians to British Guiana; for thirty years past between eight and ten thousand West Indians had left their homes annually and sought a living in the USA.

The McCarran Act

But in 1952 the McCarran Act was introduced and severe restrictions placed on American immigrants. It was the natural and logical outcome of that Act that these people should turn to Britain instead.

Both the speakers who followed, Mr. C. J. Alport, Conservative MP for Colchester, and the Rt. Hon. James Griffiths, MP, former Socialist Colonial Secretary, felt that this problem had been highlighted out of all proportion by press, radio and film. Birmingham, with something like 3,500 coloured people, had 35,000 to 40,000 Irish. No one had suggested that the Irish constituted a major political problem.

James Griffiths urged that we should not forget the long term solution.

He would like to see something resembling the Colombo Plan applied to a Caribbean Federation which included British Honduras, British Guiana and the West Indies. He would like to see the population of these Islands enabled to move freely as need or desire arose. He hoped that coloured students over here were equipping themselves as soil chemists, as agricultural research workers, as artisans, and that when the call came for their services in their native land they would respond.

People and Places—p. 3

FORMOSA

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BARBARA CASTLE M.P.

(Member NEC of Labour Party)

TOM WILLIAMS, M.P.

(Co-operative MP for Sth. Hammersmith)

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Questions & Discussion

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Sybil Morrison

SIMPLE CO-EXISTENCE

If it (policy of peaceful co-existence) is now abandoned the reason is not to be found in the "aggressive plans of the Western imperialists" but in the basic inner need of the totalitarian regime—the need for enemies.

—The Observer, February 13, 1955.

... in the sense of peace with goodwill there has been no real sign during Malenkov's reign and we can expect none now. Co-existence for the Communists is compatible with unremitting effort to pursue the cold war... The true friends of peace should never be cajoled into accepting the abolition of nuclear-energy bombs...

—The Sunday Times, February 13, 1955.

It was significant that two of the most reputable of the Sunday newspapers, the Sunday Times and The Observer, had leaders this week on co-existence, with a synonymous adjective placed before the noun in the title. The Sunday Times heading was "Armed Co-existence," the Observer "Hostile Co-existence," and the two writers expressed very much the same point of view.

There have been suggestions made in some quarters that Malenkov's overthrow is mainly due to his failure to achieve concessions from the Western Powers who met every proposal of the Soviet Union with a refusal, while at the same time boasting that any USSR concession was due to their own superior military might. Both these newspapers are concerned to prove that this is not true.

The Observer, from which better things might have been expected, comes down firmly on the side of those who can find no wrong in the attitude of the West. The blame is placed squarely on the Communist regime who cannot be expected to co-exist peacefully since their basic inner need demands an enemy.

★

Reviewing the past years, a disinterested spectator might well believe that Britain has also seemed to feel this need! Napoleon's France, the Kaiser's Germany, and then Hitler's Germany filled the bill for more than a century.

During the second world war there was a tremendous propaganda build-up against displaying any weakness to Germany when once they were defeated, the argument being that Britain's weakness had made the second war with Germany inevitable, and that in the future there must be no misunderstanding about who was the real, and the only enemy to peace—Germany.

Yet, when Germany had been defeated and occupied, another enemy sprang up fully armed and ready to take Germany's place as Enemy No. 1. The words of the Observer used in Pravda with the names transposed, would be hard to contradict.

The Sunday Times' point that there has never been any effort at peace with goodwill from Malenkov could also be applied, without any stretching of the truth, to the Western

U.S. FEARED PEACE OFFER

● From page one

the airmen were likely to be released in the course of a few weeks. It was only stipulated that the United States would not make new demands so that the release of the men could be undertaken voluntarily and not as a result of pressure or a bargain. If Washington were to allow the Chinese students retained in the USA to return to China "that would be welcome, but it is not demanded."

Commenting on the invitation to the families of the prisoners the State Department referred to this "ostensibly humanitarian offer" and warned the families concerned that they would be going into an area where "the normal protection of an American passport cannot be offered."

Mr. Hammerskjold, however, at once issued a statement declaring that he had no doubt about the safety of those who availed themselves of this invitation.

All the declaration about the need to obtain the release of the airmen was then shut off and the State Department refused passports because of the state of emergency that had arisen.

Prisoners might have been released

Mr. Stone gives an example of the treatment of one of the applicants to go to China in response to the invitation. This was Mr. John Kiba, of Akron, Ohio, who wanted to visit his imprisoned brother. On January 27 he interviewed Mr. Andrew Cordier, Executive Assistant to Mr. Hammerskjold, and according to the New York Times on January 28:

Mr. Cordier "was reported to have told one of the prisoner's relatives that 'a definite link' might exist between the visits of the families and possible Communist action to free the men quickly." Mr. Henry Cabot Lodge, the US Representative to UN, according to the New York Times, "promised he would do all he could to help once the State Department had given clearance."

On that evening the State Department released the text of a letter sent to the relatives of the imprisoned men, refusing passports. Mr. Kiba had not received such a letter up to that point, and it would appear that Mr. Hammerskjold had neither been consulted nor informed.

Mr. Stone raises the following question: "The invitation was a goodwill offering. It implied that the men could hardly be guilty of any very heinous crime. One does not invite relatives to come visit dangerous spies and criminals. If Peking chose to make it, the stage was set for a dramatic gesture. To let the men go home with their relatives, after being treated well in Communist China, would have broken the ice of the American press and won Peking that goodwill it so badly needs in this country for ultimate admission to the UN. Is that what the State Department feared?"

Powers. Both in this column and elsewhere in Peace News it has been constantly pointed out that suggestions are continually made by both sides in the "cold war," that each know will be unacceptable to the other.

This is not goodwill, but sheer grim determination to keep off a settlement, to maintain uncertainty in a "war of nerves." It is obvious that no one but a maniac could want an atomic war, but complete security from the threat of war is something that neither side appears to desire.

Goodwill is, in fact, the one ingredient for peace which is consistently missing from every move made by either side. The Western Powers bear a grave and awful responsibility in that they were the first to use the atom bomb which has resulted in the present race in weapons of mass destruction.

It is easy to blame the Soviet Union, and equally easy for them to blame the West for this situation, in which the term "co-existence" has appeared as a kind of lifebelt clutched at by two drowning men. The dictionary definition for "co-exist" is "to exist at the same time"; it is clear that in the present situation, if we are to co-exist rather than cease to exist at all, it becomes increasingly necessary to alter the whole method of approach.

It might be well to look at "the beam" in our own eye before accusing others of much the same impediment to clear sight. If it is admitted that good will is necessary as a basis for peaceful co-existence then negotiating from strength stands condemned.

The Russians have proved themselves able imitators of this policy; it is surely time to set them an example of a better way towards peace, the way of disarmament, not armaments, the way of goodwill not enmity, the way, in fact, of simple co-existence.

SOPHIATOWN EVICTIONS

By Oliver Caldecott

ALTHOUGH six arrests were made, The Observer correspondent, Cyril Dunn, described the strike, called by African leaders in Sophiatown, to protest against the compulsory eviction of African families as "not so far impressive." But these are early days for any final judgment on whether Dr. Verwoerd and Mr. Swart—the Ministers of Native Affairs and Justice, respectively—will be able to carry off this first instalment of drastic apartheid without difficulty.

Sophiatown is reported swarming with thousands of armed police, both Black and White, to ensure that the threatened strike is not successful—if it were, the absence of some 30,000 African workers from their jobs in Johannesburg might seriously disrupt the hectic tenor of that city's life.

If there was a strike

This, by the way, emphasises strongly the precise nature of the race-separation for which the Nationalists stand: they are interested in keeping the African at arm's length, but the towns and cities, farms and mines of the Union would be quickly disorganised if the African were ever to take apartheid literally.

The Western Areas Removal Scheme is founded upon the assumption that the African is—like it or not—part of the urban community but, since Europeans (particularly Nationalist voters) dislike having Africans living and possessing freehold rights in "European" towns, the Africans must be rehoused many miles away and deprived of their property rights. The authorities, however, call it "slum clearance."

Dr. A. B. Xuma, famous African leader, commenting on the Western Areas Scheme in 1953, said:

"We deny that this is slum clearance, because to eliminate slum conditions you do not have to shift a whole community, you do not have to condemn the good with the bad, you do not have to divest people of their property rights. When you have an immense problem of homelessness to solve, you do not deliberately magnify that problem by compelling people to move out of good decent homes... The essence of the matter is the Africans of the Western Areas do not want to be removed. They do not like being pushed around."

Father Huddleston accused

Foremost in the struggle is the Rev. Trevor Huddleston, the Anglican missionary. He has been accused by Ministers Swart and Verwoerd of inciting African hooligans to violence, of supporting plans for armed resistance and inflaming anti-European (White) feelings among the Africans. Are these accusations the prelude to Government provocation with a scapegoat kept in readiness?

I am, personally, sure that the African leadership will not support the use of violence in this situation; but I am not sure that they will be able to organise much support for their protest strike. The show of strength put on by the government, the severe penalties which are imposed against striking Africans and the disunity among the African leadership seem likely to negate the effectiveness of protest action.

"African Schools and Families Fund"—p. 3

FORMER U.S. RESEARCH
DIRECTOR ON NEW H-BOMB

Chicago would become a lake

THE US Government has a hydrogen bomb ready for testing that is three times as powerful as that exploded last year at the Marshall Islands with such tragic results for the Japanese fisherman engaged in the Pacific.

According to Dr. Lapp, formerly Research Director for the US Ministry of Defence, the explosion of a bomb of this kind will create a radio-active cloud which can mortally contaminate a zone of 8,000 square miles.

The facts that Dr. Lapp discloses make nonsense of the later US conceptions of civil defence just as these had already made nonsense of civil defence for Britain.

According to the US view the evacuation of the cities was necessary on the warning of an impending attack. But those who seek to get away by flight from the explosion will, in Dr. Lapp's view inevitably be condemned to death. They will have suffered sufficient radio-activity by the end of a day to have killed them.

Two days in narrow hole

The only way in which anyone will be able to save his life is to take shelter underground, where it will be necessary for him to remain for two days for protection against radiation until the cloud is sufficiently dispersed.

The best type of underground shelter is the individual hole in the ground. No shelter above ground will be safe against radio-active debris.

The individual shelter hole should be underground and dug beneath the basement of a house if possible. It should be kept as narrow as can be contrived, while the top should be covered, if necessary, simply by an overcoat.

After remaining for two days without moving from this narrow hole the shelterer must not remain inactive but should then take energetic measures for decontamination while protected by a mask. These decontamination measures include the burning of all his clothes and the destruction of all the vegetation in the garden. If these measures are not taken the later accumulation of radio-activity will claim the shelterer as a victim.

It will be impossible to decontaminate some cities, according to Dr. Lapp, and it will be necessary to raze these and completely cover their sites with earth. In some, however, that are situated beside lakes or rivers such as Chicago, Detroit or Baltimore, "Nature will resolve the problem by creating lakes where were formerly erected the city centres."

Next week Peace News will contain a special article dealing with the views of scientists on the consequences of atomic tests.

Charlie talks about Charles—and Cold War

CHARLIE CHAPLIN, at the celebration of the 143rd anniversary of the novelist's birthday, said in London last week:

"If Charles Dickens were alive today, he would be a critic of our times—of the hypocrisy of democracy wanting peace but urging on a race for rearmament."

"He would have been critical of the cold war, because it has achieved nothing other than make the whole world neurotic and given a hopeless feeling to our youths."

"Suspicion and fear are bad things to have in these days of horror-weapons."

"Charles Dickens would have written eloquently about the scientists with their irresponsibility in handing over the atom bombs and similar weapons."

"If we are to survive, it must be by developing toleration and kindness for our fellowmen. It is not enough to be intelligent. We must have feeling."

Cassandra, Daily Mirror columnist, writing in October last year, described Charlie Chaplin as a pacifist, utterly opposed to war whether it came from the East or West, against Peace by hydrogen bomb, against Peace by the accumulation of armaments, and against Peace by strength, which must inevitably lead to war.

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